



United States Senator • New Hampshire

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HUMPHREY CALLS FOR HUMANITARIAN AID FOR AFGHANS

WASHINGTON, D.C.--Attached is the statement of Senator Gordon J. Humphrey (R-NH) before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

TESTIMONY OF SENATOR GORDON J. HUMPHREY
BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
JUNE 23, 1988

I COMMEND THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING MINORITY MEMBER FOR HOLDING THIS IMPORTANT HEARING. AS MEMBERS KNOW, I HAVE SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME ON THE AFGHANISTAN ISSUE OVER THE LAST FOUR YEARS. RECENTLY, I TRAVELLED FOR THE SECOND TIME TO PAKISTAN IN ORDER TO REVIEW UNITED STATES PROGRAMS WITH REGARD TO AFGHANISTAN, AND I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT MY OBSERVATIONS.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE GENEVA AGREEMENT, THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN IS FAR FROM OVER, AND THE SUFFERING OF THE COURAGEOUS AFGHAN PEOPLE IS EVEN FARTHER FROM BEING OVER. IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, THE AFGHANS FACE A CHALLENGE EQUAL TO THAT WHICH HAS CONFRONTED THEM FOR THE PAST EIGHT YEARS: SECURING THE OVERTHROW OF THE SOVIET PUPPET REGIME IN KABUL, AND REBUILDING THEIR WAR-RAVAGED NATION.

THE UNITED STATES HAS SOUGHT TO HELP THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN REGAIN THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFGHANISTAN. OUR HELP HAS BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN THE REMARKABLE PROGRESS TO DATE. THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE CAN TAKE PRIDE IN THE ROLES THEY HAVE PLAYED IN THIS IMPORTANT STRUGGLE. BUT NOW, AFTER GENEVA, IS THE TIME TO HELP THE AFGHAN PEOPLE COMPLETE AND THEN CONSOLIDATE THEIR SUCCESS. WHAT A TRAGEDY IT WOULD BE, IF AFGHANS OUT OF MATERIAL SHORTAGE FELL SHORT OF SECURING THE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF THEIR COUNTRY AFTER SO MUCH HEARTBREAK AND SACRIFICE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN FACE AN ENORMOUS HUMANITARIAN CHALLENGE. TRAGICALLY, THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES ON THIS FRONT ARE GROSSLY INADEQUATE. WE SHOULD DOUBLE THE SIZE OF OUR BILATERAL CROSS-BORDER HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IN 1989.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE PROGRAM IS REVEALING. IN TRUTH, THE CONGRESS CAN TAKE SOLE CREDIT FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE CROSS-BORDER PROGRAM. IN 1984, OVER THE OPPOSITION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT THE CONGRESS EARMARKED SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS FOR DIRECT HUMANITARIAN AID TO THOSE INSIDE AFGHANISTAN. DESPITE THE OVERWHELMING HUMANITARIAN CRISIS INSIDE AFGHANISTAN, THE STATE DEPARTMENT DALLIED AT GREAT LENGTH BEFORE FINDING A WAY TO DISBURSE THE MONEY. FINALLY, OUT OF FRUSTRATION, THE CONGRESS MANDATED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION CREATE A FORMAL CROSS-BORDER HUMANITARIAN AID PROGRAM, ADMINISTERED BY A.I.D. SENATORS PELL, BYRD, D'AMATO

AND I JOINED TOGETHER IN DRAFTING LEGISLATION TO CREATE THE PROGRAM. ON THE HOUSE SIDE, CONGRESSMAN CHARLES WILSON'S SUPPORT HAS BEEN INSTRUMENTAL. EVEN THIS EFFORT WAS OPPOSED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WHICH DID NOT WANT THE CONGRESS TO EARMARK FUNDING FOR THE AFGHANS.

TRAGICALLY, THAT LACK OF ENTHUSIASM BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT PERSISTS. FOR THREE YEARS IN A ROW, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS RESISTED EFFORTS BY CONGRESS TO INCREASE FUNDING LEVELS. AND FOR THREE YEARS IN A ROW, THE CONGRESS UNANIMOUSLY INCREASED FUNDING: FROM \$15M IN FY'86, TO \$30M IN FY'87, TO \$45M IN FY '88. EACH YEAR, THE ADMINISTRATION ONLY REQUESTED FUNDING LEVELS EQUIVALENT TO THOSE FORCED UPON THEM THE PREVIOUS YEAR BY THE CONGRESS. FOR FY '88, THE ADMINISTRATION ONLY REQUESTED \$30 MILLION, EVEN THOUGH THE FY87 APPROPRIATION WAS \$30 MILLION!

I ASKED, IN WRITING, THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT ON AFGHANISTAN, WHY HE DID NOT PRESS FOR AN INCREASE IN THE PROGRAM FOR FY '88. HE REPLIED, THAT IN HIS VIEW FUNDING LEVELS FOR FY '88 "MEETS THE AFGHAN AID REPRESENTATIVE'S NEEDS." MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT CONTRADICTS AN INTERNAL AID MEMORANDUM I HAVE OBTAINED THAT CONCLUDES: "WE HAVE BUILT A CAPACITY THAT IS THE MINIMAL NECESSARY FOR WHAT WE ARE DOING AND CAN DO WITHIN A STRAIGHTLINED BUDGET; BUT WE COULD DO MUCH MORE, AND THE NEED FOR MORE IS THERE."

THIS CONGRESSIONALLY INITIATED PROGRAM HAS BEEN ENORMOUSLY SUCCESSFUL, BECAUSE THE FUNDS ARE PROVIDED THROUGH THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO THE COMMITTEES OF THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE ALLIANCE. THE COMMITTEES WERE FORMED TO DELIVER COMMODITIES, EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS, MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT INSIDE AFGHANISTAN. HUNDREDS OF TRUCKS AND MULES HAVE BEEN PROVIDED TO THE RESISTANCE FOR THE DELIVERY OF AID INSIDE AFGHANISTAN. SMALLS SCHOOLS WITH TEXTBOOKS WRITTEN BY THE AFGHANS, ARE BEING ESTABLISHED INSIDE THE COUNTRY. HUNDREDS OF AFGHANS HAVE ALSO BEEN TRAINED IN PARAMEDIC SKILLS, TO ADDRESS THE DIRE LACK OF MEDICAL CARE INSIDE AFGHANISTAN. SMALL HEALTH CLINICS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED INSIDE, AND TONS OF MEDICATIONS AND MEDICAL EQUIPMENT HAVE BEEN DELIVERED.

THIS PROGRAM WORKS SO WELL BECAUSE THE AFGHANS THEMSELVES ARE DELIVERING THE ASSISTANCE. THE AFGHANS THEMSELVES ARE DEVELOPING AN INFRASTRUCTURE INSIDE THE COUNTRY.

MR. CHAIRMAN, IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, PROVIDING THE SOVIETS WITHDRAW ON SCHEDULE, WE CAN EXPECT MILLIONS OF AFGHANS TO POUR OVER THE BORDER, BACK INTO AFGHANISTAN. BUT THERE IS VERY LITTLE REMAINING INFRASTRUCTURE: LITTLE HEALTH CARE, TRANSPORTATION, OR FOOD, AND LIMITED MEANS TO DELIVER IT.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE PROGRAM PROVIDES DIRECT GRANTS TO EXPERIENCED PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS (PVO's) WITH CROSS BORDER ACTIVITIES. IN RECENT YEARS, I HAVE MET WITH THE HEADS OF VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE PRIVATE GROUPS RECEIVING U.S. ASSISTANCE UNDER THIS PROGRAM. ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS FREEDOM MEDICINE, INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL CORPS, AND MEDICINS SANS FRONTIERS. THESE GROUPS HAVE A WEALTH OF EXPERIENCE THAT CAN NOT BE DUPLICATED. WE MUST SUSTAIN THIS EFFORT.

A RECENT STAFF REPORT OF THIS COMMITTEE WRITTEN BY PETER GALBRAITH RECOMMENDED THAT THE CROSS-BORDER AID PROGRAM SHOULD BE DOUBLED IMMEDIATELY, TO \$90M. LAST WEEK, TWENTY-FIVE SENATORS, INCLUDING THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING MINORITY MEMBER OF THIS COMMITTEE, SENT A LETTER TO THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE CALLING FOR A DOUBLING OF THE PROGRAM, AT THE VERY LEAST. THE MAJORITY LEADER HAS ALSO ENDORSED THIS EFFORT.

CLEARLY THE NEEDS THIS YEAR ARE NOT THE SAME AS LAST YEAR. THINK OF THE MESSAGE WE ARE SENDING, MR. CHAIRMAN, IF THE U.S. PROVIDED INADEQUATE AMOUNTS OF RECONSTRUCTION AND REDEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. HOW CAN WE EXPECT OTHER COUNTRIES TO ASSIST GENEROUSLY, WHEN WE ARE NOT WILLING TO TAKE THE LEAD. AND SURELY WE DO NOT WANT TO SEND THE MESSAGE THAT THE U.S. IS ONLY INTERESTED IN FIGHTING RUSSIANS, AND NOT ASSISTING THE AFGHAN PEOPLE IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THEIR NATION.

IN ORDER TO COORDINATE THIS RECONSTRUCTION EFFORT WITH THE AFGHAN PEOPLE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT MUST DRAMATICALLY INCREASE ITS INTERACTION WITH THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE. SPECIFICALLY, WE NEED A SPECIAL ENVOY TO THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S COORDINATION WITH THE RESISTANCE IS GROSSLY LACKING. LAST YEAR, THIS SENATOR WROTE THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT ON AFGHANISTAN TO ASK WHY THE ADMINISTRATION HAD CONDUCTED NO COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE AFGHAN ALLIANCE. THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT REPLIED: "I NEVER FELT THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF THE ALLIANCE, AND MY COLLEAGUES IN OTHER DEPARTMENT BUREAUS AND OTHER AGENCIES HAVE NOT ASKED THAT ONE BE MADE." OUR AMBASSADOR IN PAKISTAN ONLY NAMED A FULL-TIME POLITICAL OFFICER TO COVER THE RESISTANCE AFTER FACING PRESSURE FROM THE CONGRESS.

IN THE ABSENCE OF CLOSE COORDINATION AND INTERACTION WITH THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE, OUR GOVERNMENT HAS HAD TO RELY ON OTHER COUNTRIES FOR SUBSTANTIAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESISTANCE. AN ARTICLE IN THE WASHINGTON POST ON JUNE 21, 1988, CLEARLY HIGHLIGHTS THE PROBLEM. THE ARTICLE STATES:

"ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE QUALITY OF U.S. INTELLIGENCE THEY HAVE BEEN RECEIVING ON RECENT FAST BREAKING EVENTS IN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN AND ARE NOW DEBATING WHETHER TO ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE THE INFORMATION FLOW BY SENDING A SPECIAL U.S. ENVOY TO SERVE AS LIASON WITH THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE."

MR. CHAIRMAN, WE BADLY NEED A SPECIAL AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL ENVOY TO THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE. LAST WEDNESDAY, IN A STRONGLY WORDED LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, SENATORS BYRD AND DOLE CALLED UPON THE SECRETARY TO NAME AN AMBASSADOR AT LARGE ON AFGHANISTAN. I SHOULD ADD, THE SENATE PREVIOUSLY CALLED FOR A SIMILAR PROPOSAL. AS USUAL, THIS LATEST PROPOSAL CONTINUES TO FACE OPPOSITION FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

A REPLY FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE INDICATES THAT THE DEPARTMENT INTENDS TO NAME AN OFFICER TO SERVE AS AN ASSISTANT TO OUR AMBASSADOR IN PAKISTAN, IN LIEU OF AN AMBASSADOR AT LARGE. THIS IS SIMPLY INADEQUATE. IT DOES NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM. I HOPE THE ADMINISTRATION WILL ACT ON THIS WORTHY RECOMMENDATION, SO THAT SENATORS DO NOT HAVE TO RESORT TO LEGISLATIVE REMEDIES.

MY HOPE IS THIS DISTINGUISHED COMMITTEE WILL THROW ITS WEIGHT BEHIND A DOUBLING OF THE CROSS-BORDER HUMANITARIAN AID PROGRAM FOR FY89. MY HOPE IS THE COMMITTEE WILL THROW ITS WEIGHT BEHIND THE PROPOSAL TO CREATE AN AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE TO THE RESISTANCE. WE MUST HELP THE AFGHANS CONSOLIDATE THEIR SUCCESSES. WE CANNOT BACK OFF NOW. TO DO SO WOULD GRAVELY JEOPARDIZE THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF THE EFFORT TO RESTORE AFGHANISTAN TO FULL INDEPENDENCE.